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REFLECTIONS

ON THE  
S T A T E  
O F  
P A R T I E S;  
ON THE  
N A T I O N A L D E B T,  
AND THE  
Necessity and Expediency  
O F T H E  
Present WAR with AMERICA.

*Il y a des erreurs qu'il faut réfuter sérieusement, des absurdités  
dont il faut rire, & des mensonges qu'il faut repousser avec force.*  
VOLTAIRE.

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*John Wake*



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## REFLECTIONS





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# REFLECTIONS.

## P A R T I.

### C H A P. I.

#### *The Introduction.*

**W**RITING on some political subjects is like an attempt to draw images on clouds; they are so unsubstantial, and so transitory. The contentions of political parties are mere jostlings to obtain a station. Those who obtain it are fortunate; those who are left among the croud, look up with envy and regret, and even complain of injury and injustice, when their disappointment was the simple effect of incapacity or inability. Since I have turned my thoughts to politics, nothing has been more the

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object of my attention, than the principles and formation of parties in England. I have traversed with attention several other kingdoms. There is a simplicity and uniformity in all their governments and policy, which that of England wants ; though it has other excellencies which give it a clear and undisputed superiority. I have often puzzled myself for reasons why the public business is always impeded by the opposition of some party. Surely government cannot always have been at enmity with the public good : It is not reasonable to suppose it, while the people are acknowledged to have been happy at home, and prosperous abroad. It appears, therefore, that the disposition which has led people in England to distress government, as much as possible, in all its operations, is an evil, and does not proceed from any principles, which are either an advantage or an honour to our much boasted constitution. It is a principle in philosophy to doubt every thing before you assent to it. It ought to be a principle in politics, not to admit of any thing without examination ; but that there should be a perpetual party in England, formed against the government, which make us prosperous and great ; that the party should consist of men of property, abilities, and credit,

credit, and that not an individual of those men can be silenced on any measure, good, bad, or indifferent, but in the manner of Cerberus, by giving him a sugar-plumb, is a matter as astonishing as it is prejudicial. The great principles of the English constitution were settled in times of commotion, and they still favour of the turbulence of those times. Before the House of Commons was formed, or had any share in legislation, (for it was long made use of only as the means of raising money for the crown) the people had no manner of redressing their grievances, but by a riot, or a rebellion. Indeed, their oppressions in those early periods hardly ever could have proceeded immediately from the crown. Under the barons, who were only tributaries to the prince, the country was divided into so many petty independent principalities. These barons were absolute and despotic in the government of their vassals; and it was by a kind of alliance with one or more of them, that the prince maintained any thing like a government over the rest. The barons, in this alliance with the prince, constituted the court party; those who could less bear the appearance of subordination, were the opposition, or country party. The state was kept by

these means in a barbarous tumult ; and kings were made, and unmade, at the pleasure of the most powerful barons,

Henry the Seventh gave a great blow to this power, by elevating the Commons. His views have been more than answered by an increase of trade and riches among the lower classes of the people. Still a spirit of domination kept its ground among our nobles, and the Revolution itself, so far from putting an end to it, was an instance of it. I do not mean to speak with disrespect of this remarkable event ; but the manner in which it was brought about, the nature of the convention, and the power it assumed, would have been matters of reprehension, but for the benefits which evidently accrued from it. The great families, who took the lead in this event, formed a party who called themselves Whigs ; and they assumed a power over the King, and in the conduct of government, very similar to that which had been exercised by the barons. King William submitted to this usurpation, out of gratitude, and out of necessity. When the illustrious House of Hanover came to the throne, they found the government in this form, with the appearance of being conducted  
by



by Kings, Lords, and Commons, but in fact under the arbitrary management of the Whigs. This, and not any personal objection to the Hanover family, produced the two rebellions in 1715, and 1745. King George the First, and King George the Second, found it necessary not to break with these Whigs, who claimed the merit of the Revolution, and who did not think themselves sufficiently overpaid, by engrossing all places of dignity and emolument, and all power in the conduct of government. It was reserved for his present Majesty to dissolve this injurious charm, by which the nation had been so long held in servitude to a selfish junto. He declared himself King of all his people, and levelled all those distinctions which alienated them from each other: He did this by the acknowledgment of one of his most rancorous libellers. "The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, tho' it has not yet produced the many salutary effects, which was intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a  
 natural

natural turn for low intrigue ;—nor was it the treacherous amusements of double and triple negotiations. No :—it arose from a continued anxiety on the purest of all possible hearts for the general welfare.”

This conduct in the King, however pure and noble the motive, like all material reformati-  
 ons in the state, could not fail of having some im-  
 mediate consequences, which would be trouble-  
 some and disagreeable. Such a body as the  
 Whigs, who had occupied all places, and en-  
 joyed all power, at once reduced to a level with  
 the rest of the people, was a bold step, and might  
 have reduced to difficulties a prince less beloved,  
 and less excellent than his present Majesty. Every  
 disappointed and discharged Whig became a de-  
 termined enemy to the King, and his admini-  
 stration. This is the history and rise of what at  
 first seems difficult to account for, that the go-  
 vernment of the present King, who came to the  
 throne the idol of his people, should be harrassed  
 and clogged by a perpetual and inveterate oppo-  
 sition. If his Majesty had submitted, like his  
 predecessors, to be the deputy only of the Whig  
 junto, this opposition had not taken place, and  
 he



he might have been as easy and insignificant as other Kings have been. The clouds that have hovered over the reign of our excellent prince, have been owing to one of the wisest and most benevolent measures which could have been taken.

CHAP.

## C H A P. II.

*Characters of Mr. Pitt, and of Lord Bute, and an Account of the Peace of Paris.*

THE King came to the throne at the eve of a war, which had been carried on with a success, that added lustre to the English name. Never in the annals of history do we read of more courage, more conduct, or more generosity, animating a whole people, who produced numbers of the ablest commanders both by sea and land, whose ardor glow'd in the noblest cause, to fight for their King and country. The antient spirit of the Barons was not yet laid, by which the King and government was to be over-ruled; and this power, which formerly had been acquired by wealth and force, was once obtained by a peculiar kind of oratory, and what may be called parliamentary methodism. Mr. Pitt set out, in the reign of George the Second, a Tory, under the auspices, and in the pay of the Duchess of Marlborough. The Whig junto, who governed all things by an hereditary right,

right to Whig, was the object against which this political Whitefield levelled his wild and extravagant rhapsodies. His popularity obliged the junto to take him amongst them, and the court air had such an effect on this volatile genius, that he was instantly converted from a furious Tory to a furious Whig. The martial spirit of the nation had been awakened by the misfortunes which attended the commencement of the war, and the death of Admiral Byng, &c. every thing was ready for conquest and glory : when this man forced himself into the situation of prime minister at the head of the Whig junto, which had just been the object of his satire and execration, the impetuosity of his spirit suited the vehemence of the nation for war and conquest.—This vehemence, however, he says, he created. Let him try to create any thing similar to this in a country village, and he will see, if possible, the vanity and folly of his pretensions. A whole people is not to be moved, but by circumstances that affect the whole. A civil war may produce a Cromwell, but a Cromwell would not produce a civil war. The multitude do not judge of causes and effects ;—they looked up to the ministry as the ostensible cause of suc-

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cessful

cessful measures, and even of the courage and conduct which executed them. Mr. Pitt thundered his own praises, whenever he announced the glory of the British arms. While the wisest and bravest commanders in the world were exercising their talents, exerting their courage, and every day sending home expresses that set the country in a blaze of frantic joy. The council-chamber, and the senate, echoed and re-echoed with the egotisms and self-aculation of a man, who was so drunk with conceit, that he imagined all the wisdom, all the ability, and all the courage of the most glorious period in the English history, were only reflections and emanations from his own. The apprehensions of the people fell in with these extravagant pretensions; they reasoned in this manner;—"We pursue our enemies, and we beat them in every quarter of the globe. Mr. Pitt is the minister, and therefore to him we owe all our prosperity, and all our glory." Peace be to the manes of those immortal heroes, who fought and died for a country, which was meanly and ignorantly sacrificing their glory at the shrine of a vain and self-created idol. Ever flourishing may those laurels bloom, which crown the brows of those living heroes,

who



who have joined modesty to merit, and who, while their glory has been assumed by another, retired into their proper station, with a pleasure which he must ever be a stranger to:—a consciousness of deserving more than they enjoy. The natural vanity of this man, and the success of our arms, which he said was all owing to him, changed the face of affairs in the Whig ministry, and from an oligarchy it became a tyranny. He threw off all his associates, and set up for sole prime minister, *i. e.* as matters then stood, for sole monarch of England. When the late King died, he looked upon, and spoke of the present, as a boy, to be taken by him in leading-strings. But the date of this meteor was at an end;—and it was dissipated, even when the gaping people expected to see it blaze with more glory than ever. The young Monarch, who was expected to be docile and tractable, as deputy to Mr. Pitt, saw at once, that the peace and prosperity of his government depended on the removal of this man: He tried him in the most boasted of his virtues, his integrity, and found it was nothing. The orator had been declaiming for years against bribery and corruption, and he retired with a

title and a pension. The fall of this man, like the fall of any evil spirit, could not but have some troublesome consequences ; and he retained popularity enough to sow discontent and dissatisfaction among the people.

The noble Lord, who was supposed to succeed him in the office of prime minister, was of a totally opposite character. Lord Bute spent the earliest part of his life in the acquisition of real and universal knowledge. Philosophy, and a taste for the arts, temper and humanize the mind. The furious policy which animated Mr. Pitt to war, appeared to such a man savage barbarism, and a brilliant road to ruin. Conquests to a commercial state are evils ; and war, except in cases of necessity, is a disgrace to humanity. These were sentiments, however, not to be offered to the people, because they would not be comprehended. They were to be moved only by their interest, and the increase of the national debt was made use of as a reason for concluding a peace with France. Mr. Pitt had blustered to the French in the style of Oliver Cromwell. The peace of Paris was made with temper, moderation, and humanity ; sufficient reason for Mr. Pitt,



Pitt, and his adherents, to brand it with reproach. The people were mad for conquests, and extending an empire, already too large, and too much divided, to be tolerably governed. Opposition began to acquire strength, and form itself into a body. Every profligate and idle man looked up with terror at the philosophic severity of a nobleman, who would advise his sovereign to employ men in his service according to their merit, without regard to their connections, or the places in which they were born. Scotland had always, by the Whigs, lain under an interdict ; and its union with England was of very little real advantage to the public. This unjust and cruel partiality was removed ; and shoals of needy, hardy, and brave men, which a narrow policy had long attempted to starve, now offered to serve the public :—They were tried, found serviceable, intelligent, and faithful. Scotsmen were admitted into many of our employments. This wise, humane, and just measure, added strength to the spirit of party, which had been forming against government, and produced some of the most extraordinary characters and events. Nothing was heard but clamours against Scotland ; and the people were  
made

made to apprehend, that the old Scottish forms of government were going to be introduced; that the whole land of England was to be divided among Scots Lairds, and the poor English to be reduced to vassalage.

## C H A P. III.

*W--K--S.*

**H**ERE I ought to invoke some muse of most extraordinary character : that which inspired Ovid to sing of transformation would mislead me : and yet her Proteus is not of a more variegated or surprising production than Mr. W--k-s. With some talents, and some knowledge, designed by nature to be useful under the direction of another, he set up for a genius, and a wit. With a person marked by nature with deformity, he gave himself out for a debauché. Emerged in profligacy and profaneness, he associated with saints, declaimed against corruption, and offered himself to lead a reformation of religion, government, and manners. We are all the children of accidents. W--k-s would have mouldered into his original insignificancy, if this clamour about Scotsmen had not arisen. He wrote, necessity compelled him ; his libels were imprudently taken notice of ; and he  
 mounted

mounted into patriotism on the shoulders of Scotsmen. I do not mean to pursue him thro' all his plans of hypocrisy, but only to shew the complexion of a party against government, by the character of him who was now become their leader. He will be ranked by posterity among the Warbecks and Simnels of former times. The muse of Churchill, if an infernal fury can be called one, and the rancorous, tho' futile, essays and paragraphs of W--k-s, inflamed the minds of the people, and seemed for a time to give vigour to the new party. All notions of good and evil were lost: Profligacy was to reform morality, and anarchy good government. No time can obliterate the scandal of this period, and no sophistry can separate the party from its representative. Quibbles about private character and public character will only dupe a thick-headed common-council-man. W--k-s was ever turbulent, designing, and an enemy to good government; and his adherents were either fools, or of the same complexion. It is wonderful how all kinds of evil get strength, and become formidable. This execrable party became dangerous to suppress, and difficult to manage, till time, and an opposition of interests, made the  
leaders

leaders disagree. But the spirit of faction had been spread through the empire, and it will require a large share of wisdom and conduct in government to lay it.



## C H A P. IV.

*Consequences of Lord Bute's Resignation.*

IT was very natural, when the bustle of war and faction gave government any repose, that its attention should be turned to the well ordering and management of an empire that had been greatly extended and secured. The evils attendant on a spirit of conquest, and an extent of dominion in a commercial nation, were foreseen by wise and able politicians, but it was in vain. The mad enthusiasm had been raised, and the people were not disposed to recover from their intoxication. Mr. Grenville, a prudent, able, and well intending politician, was the minister at this very difficult and dangerous period. He saw, that the prosperity and happiness of the English nation must not be left to the chance of exciting a temporary frenzy, and a passion for war. That in those days, when military glory was the English character, and they were roving through Europe for scenes of blood, commerce,



merce, the arts, and all the branches of useful knowledge, were neglected ; the nation in general was savage and miserable ; that now public objects were changed ; and that the happiness of all the people, in the security and improvement of trade, in the encouragement of the arts, and in the advancement of knowledge, were to take place of the glory and advantage of a few, in the pursuits of military acquisitions. This wise man considered the state of the revenue as the most important circumstance. Lord Chatham had squandered millions in the acquisition of false glory ; and his system was, if he had any system at all, to trust, on every future exigence, to the chance of inspiring the whole empire with a liberality answerable to the occasion. This is the real ground of the dispute with America. The Americans in the late war partook of the general intoxication and spirit of conquest, and contributed to the exigencies of the war. They therefore artfully enough said, “ Why should it be doubted that we should ever fail in future ? ” The minister might have answered—“ I hope no such occasion will arise.” It is an insecure and dangerous policy to govern by the passions of the people : government must have certain and per-

nent principles, or it can have no chance of stability and prosperity. These Mr. Grenville aimed at in establishing those acts which would have secured to us a regular and certain revenue from America. The government, even then, had sufficient reasons for a jealousy of the Americans, from the conversation of their agents, who commonly talked of their country as rising fast to independence, as forming political constitutions very different from ours, and as continuing its connection for the purpose of draining us of our artificers, and other temporary conveniences. It was therefore politic and necessary, either to give up all connexion with America, and prevent emigrations thither, or to subject the whole empire to one form of government. Whether the stamp-act was the best step towards this, or not, is a question difficult to determine. I think it was not dictated by a policy sufficiently refined, considering the subtlety of the people we had to do with. The clamour was successfully raised here, and the people were vociferous against what they called an attempt on their liberty ; a word they do not understand, and a blessing, which, when they possess, they are willing to sell to the highest bidder. It is a pity  
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their friend, Mr. Sawbridge, could not get them an opportunity of selling it once a year. The old mode of government by passion, and not by principle, once more prevailed: the minority, which now assumed more boldness, was diligently inflaming the people, and the ministry gave way.

My Lord R—k—h—m's administration was to settle all things; and the jesuitical subtlety of Burke was to be the instrument. Burke brought forward his metaphysics refined, split hairs, strewed flowers, and rounded periods with great emolument to the youth of the House. He was announced an orator; but all wise men saw he had neither a head nor heart to have any considerable share in the government of a large empire. It is always the inclination of a coxcomb to attempt impossibilities: Burke, from the day of his master's elevation to this, has had the confidence to say, he can reconcile the declaratory act to what the Americans call their liberties. All the united sophistry of his old friends the Jesuits could not give this even plausibility. He has fabricated speeches with immense labour, spoken them for the amusement of the idle, and  
printed

printed them with great care. He has partly succeeded : he is always heard in the House, as he ought to be heard, with knowledge, imagination, and wit enough to make them laugh, and to amuse them ; but destitute of that true genius, that solidity of judgment, that integrity and uprightness, which would give him real weight and consequence in the deliberations of an English Parliament. The R—k—h—m administration was, like the genius of this man, frothy and deluding : it held out projects and pretensions, and sunk, like a bubble, from its own weakness. All displaced statesmen become patriots : hence the addition to opposition from Lord R—k—h—m, Lord Sh——ne, General C—way, Colonel B—ré, and Mr. B—ke. The peculiar talents of the latter enable him to do mischief. He has reading and imagination enough to describe morality, virtue, and patriotism, in their most finished colours, and to delude the people by his professions. His eloquence, though defective in essential principles, for it never convinces the House of Commons, never gains respect to the speaker, or his cause, and never alarms his opponents, but goes off as an amusing tale ; yet the art with which he has distributed



distributed his speeches among the people, has gained him some degree of credit with the superficial and unthinking. This circumstance, concurring with a little self-interest with the lower merchants of Bristol, gained him, at the last election, an honour, which the inhabitants in general are sorry and ashamed to have conferred. In the tumult of apprehensions of loss from an American war,—in the warmth of ignorant admiration of Burke's harrangues, the sentiments of the wiser, more substantial, and sober citizens, were over-ruled, and Lord Clare was treated with an ingratitude, which every man of sense in Bristol regrets. Such changes were rung on the words liberty and trade, that his Lordship's genius and talents, which had been their admiration, and his services to the inhabitants, which had been gratefully felt, were forgotten. But this is only a temporary frenzy. from which the people will soon recover. I mention this to shew how opposition has been formed, how it obtains any credit, and does any mischief.

The state of the King's councils, and of the ministry, was fluctuating, till the present administration

nistration was formed. The D— of G——n is a disagreeable object of contemplation, and I would not mention him, if, by some strange caprice of fortune, he had not once taken the lead in the public business of this kingdom. The sharp-pointed pen of Junius must have probed so deeply, that humanity would rather heal a wound that time and conviction can only close.



## C H A P. V.

*The present Administration.*

THE administration, which has for some years conducted the business of the English government, and, it is to be hoped, will do so for many years to come, was, and is, supported by the abilities of Lord Gower, Lord Sandwich, Lord G. Germaine, Lord North, &c. Administration and opposition formed into regular and separate parties, and the American measures were the subject of contention. Opposition hoped to delude the people by some difficulties, with which American affairs were attended, into an opinion, that administration meant to ruin the empire. Their view was, to displace the King's ministers, and to succeed them. Nothing can exceed, on some occasions, the credulity of the people. Administration was supported by nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry of large property in the kingdom: they were opposed by men, almost all of whom were needy, in debt,

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and

and in difficulties ; yet the people believed these hungry patriots, who were in fact gaping at places, while they pretended to save a country which was going to be ruined by almost all the proprietors of it. This is a degree of phrenzy which cannot be supposed ; but it is marvellous, and therefore to be credited by the multitude.

That there have been always difficulties in the management of colonies, is well known to all who are acquainted with history. It is also known, that colonies, in the very nature of them, have implied ideas, which have placed the inhabitants of them in an inferior state to that of the mother-country : they have been settlements for poor disbanded soldiers, for fugitives, and sometimes for criminals. It never, therefore, was, or could be, the intention of the primitive state, or mother-country, to place them on the same footing of power and privilege with itself. The colonies of America were planted under peculiar circumstances. Before a general toleration of religion, opinions and modes of worship were either the principle or practice of government, various sects had arisen, who, under a pretence of conscience, claimed the liberty of libelling and

and overturning government, and forming another on the models of Geneva and Switzerland. Republics may be very proper forms of government, where the genius and disposition of the people lead them to chuse such forms ; but in England this has never been the case ; the inclination of the people has ever been strongly towards monarchy ; and all attempts on their ancient form of government, in the end called out their indignation and resentment. These puritans, anabaptists, and reformers, who were here punished for their sedition and attempts to change the government, for that was the use they made of the opportunities they had to preach and pray, petitioned to go to America, and there to enjoy their own methods of ranting and railing, under certain conditions, which were stipulated in charters, drawn up in the same form and manner with the usual charters of towns and cities, which are ever subject to the controul of parliament, and the general laws of the land. This is the precise and only idea in which the American charters can be justly and truly viewed, and they can possibly have no other force and authority. A set of people, turbulent and seditious at home, under religious pretences aiming at the subver-

sion of government, instead of being exterminated, were pitied, as under the power of fanaticism : a country offered, in which the industry of this people ought to be rendered useful, and their frenzy harmless ; their lives were forfeited from repeated and open treasons, and it was mercy in government to settle and protect them, with a view of some advantage to the state, while, from their crimes and situation, they could not be put on a footing of privilege and liberty with the original state. This is the origin of the English colonies ; and these were the real principles on which they were first planted. The first settlers were suffered to go there from a generous compassion of their delusion. I am not speaking in favour of any degree of intolerance prevailing at that time ; but the puritans, anabaptists, &c. never sued for liberty of conscience ; they hated the idea ; they contended for the subversion of government, and for setting up their own commonwealth and forms of religious worship. When these people had cleared the ground a little, government increased their numbers by an annual clearing of the jails of highwaymen, footpads, &c. &c. &c. who soon made good fairs, and worthy members of these chartered



chartered societies. A variety of circumstances tended to improve these plantations, and to render them desirable places of venture to men of broken fortunes, to mechanics, and tradesmen out of employ. In this manner, assisted by the mother country, they became rich and flourishing colonies ; all things in their original seemed to have been forgotten ; and they were treated too like countries in alliance in their commerce with the primitive state, till at last they became to think they were so. This false idea, which has been one of the sources of the present rebellion, was propagated by their agents here ; and multitudes of the most useful and most industrious of the King's subjects were decoyed and sent over, under promises of greater privileges, greater liberty, and greater riches, than they could obtain at home. The general commerce of the empire was on so good a footing, that these things were overlooked : we suffered them to rob us of our industrious and working people, because we imagined our interests were mutual, and that we should solely supply them with our manufactures, while they only meant to lay the train of independence at the expence of our ruin. This was the real and natural subject of contention ;



tion; but there is always an hypocrisy in politics, as well as in private life; people seldom fall out for the true reason they have for hating one another. The project of taxing the Americans, for the purposes of a revenue, was partly a trial of their allegiance, and partly an attempt to reduce, under one form of government, an empire, which was insensibly dividing into many independent policies. The ministry proceeding on the principles, that the good of the whole must over-rule the convenience of a part, and that an act of the British Parliament was a law to the whole empire. This had ever been acknowledged by all chartered communities, and their privileges had been often abridged, and taken away, without their even pretending, that their charters had rendered them independent of the law of the land. Here the controversy opened; and the Americans and the patriots very artfully changed the ground, on which they stood, to that of a state of nature, and they have ever since argued from the rights of nature, in a supposed pure and just state of mankind. The convicts, who are now working on the Thames, it is to be hoped, will merit, by their behaviour, more and more indulgence, and become more

and more useful to society ; but they will hardly claim those indulgencies as privileges of nature, and never argue with their benefactors on the principles of nature ; they would have as much reason as the Americans, who, if they had not been delinquents against the state, had never been colonies ; they might have petitioned on the principles of humanity and policy, but could never argue on those of right and nature. The question on taxation and representation had here no place at all ; and it appeared to be idle even to take notice of the pompous harrangues of a Chatham and a Camden. Colonies and British subjects could not come under the same description ; they were nurseries for those subjects, and were to be cultivated and managed, as much as possible, for the interest of those who had planted and protected them. Writers in favour of government have either not understood this matter, or they have had a tenderness in speaking out mistaken tenderness for a people, whose creed is treason, whose principles are incompatible with the being of the English constitution, and whose libels, acts of assembly, and congress, abound with the most virulent and indecent abuse of our amiable and excellent sovereign.

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Is it cruel, or severe, to trace to their origin, in crimes which deserved hanging, societies, who, in their public capacity, and in return for their existence and prosperity, call mercy, injustice ; law, tyranny ; and an English King, adorned with every public and private virtue, a bloody-minded tyrant ? This ground should never have been quitted in a controversy with the Americans ; a state of nature is an imaginary one ; the original colonies of America had been a state of society, had become criminals against that society ; and, by a wise and merciful policy, instead of being exterminated, had been placed in a state but little inferior to dutiful and good subjects, in a way to become such, or to be of service to the state. Hence the indistinct but just idea which has ever prevailed, that the Americans are our subjects, and that they ought in every thing to submit to the regular laws of our Parliament. The matter standing thus : the only error committed by government has been owing to lenity, and a wish to obtain, by secret policy, what was a clear right, and ought to be insisted upon as such. The stamp act, and the repeal of it, the ridiculous declaratory act, asserted a power never to be exerted, were the effect of fluctuating and unmanly councils. The  
right

right of government over America was assumed, when the principal members of the present ministry came into power : they understood the principles on which they proceeded, but they paid too much regard to the clamour of opposition, and could not imagine the views of the Americans were so violent and factious : they therefore proceeded from too much caution, and, to save a little blood, made it necessary to shed more. The motive was amiable, and will be commended, even while we lament its consequences.

The present rebellion cannot find a parallel in the annals of mankind : the progressions of the Germanic body into so many petty principalities evince how requisite a vigour of government must be to preserve a large dependant country, remote from the supreme legislature. Forms of administration must be adapted with an eye to the genius of the people. Germany was formerly subject to the French monarchy : a relaxation of government, subsequent to the reign of Charlemagne, united with the imbecility and weakness of his successors : the pliant humour which they discovered in granting all their demands

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to



(to avoid present hostilities)\* in lieu of boldly asserting their rights; they only undermined the growing power of the encroaching subject; their strides to independance were as rapid as they found government feeble, and without spirit. Robertson, in the introduction to his elegant and admirable history of Charles the Fifth, justly observes, that "the unappy effects of this fatal error in policy was quickly felt."—The same consequences would result in America, if the judicious vigour of administration had not curbed that spirit of rebellion and independancy. Every petty colony would have assumed a partial jurisdiction. America would have mouldered into many insignificant principalities.

\* The King of Prussia, that able politician, in his *Examen du Prince de Machiavel*, speaking of the policy of the Romans, in their war against Antiochus and Philip, says, "Though they might have avoided the one, and prevented the other, by temporary expedients, yet they judged better, and never acted according to the confined maxims of modern politicians, that we ought to trust to time for what is to come, and make the best of the present. I say again, that present inconvenience ought never to be submitted to merely to prevent a war; for the war, instead of being entirely averted, will only be deferred, and fall so much the heavier at last."



lities. That elegant historian, Robertson, re-  
 marks, " that the ideas of order and political  
 " unity, which had formed the various pro-  
 " vinces of Germany into one body, were  
 " entirely lost, he adds, and society must  
 " have dissolved, if the forms of feudal subor-  
 " dination had not preserved such an appear-  
 " ance of connexion and dependance among the  
 " various members of the community, as pre-  
 " served it from falling to pieces." If our  
 gracious King had only retained in America,  
 like the head of the Germanic body, title with-  
 out prerogative, the interior policy must be sub-  
 ject to violent dissensions, and all external exer-  
 tions feeble and irregular ; as allies, as confe-  
 derates, they could never act. We should re-  
 member our just superiority, and they would be  
 jealous of our arms ; from a form of government  
 so ill compacted, mutual distrust is inevitable.  
 They must suffer all the severities of disunion,  
 and fall at last a prey to some invader. This  
 may be clearly illustrated from the situation of  
 Italy under the Emperor Justinian, or rather his  
 exarch, Longinus. " Every town, or city, had  
 " its separate ruler, instead of the former man-  
 " ner of being subject to one governor, appointed

“ by the emperor. This new innovation facilitated and hastened exceedingly the ruin of Italy, as it gave the Lombards an occasion of making themselves masters of Italy,”

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## POLITICAL HYPOCRISY.

### P A R T II.

#### C H A P. VI.

*A.* Why didst thou chuse that cursed sin  
Hypocrisy, to set up in ?

*O.* Because it is a thriving calling,  
The only saints-bell that rings all in.  
It is a gift, not only able  
To domineer among the rabble,  
But, by the laws, impow'r'd to rout ;  
It serves the great ones that are out.

**H**YPOCRISY, whether religious, moral, or  
civil, is actuated by the same views : it is  
the sacred cloak that covers every vice ; it is the  
affectation

affectation of virtue ; and, when once the poison  
 has spread, there is no antidote to eradicate it :  
 it is a popular and plausible pretence to ingra-  
 tiate with the people : a uniform adherence to  
 political hypocrisy, if the hypocrite is endowed  
 with discernment, is always dangerous to the  
 peace and tranquility of the state. Rousseau ad-  
 mirably observes, “ that the conversion of a Car-  
 touche might reasonably have been attempted ;  
 but a wise man would never undertake to con-  
 vert a Cromwell. Clodius wore this cloak,  
 when he sacrificed the habitation of the virtuous  
 Cicero to liberty : Cromwell wore it when he  
 overturned the constitution, and erected the  
 highest species of tyranny on its ruin.

The Americans have gone deeper than oppo-  
 sition in their hypocrisy ; they have proposed  
 plans of conciliation to dupe the opposition ; it  
 was seized hold of, and made a ground of com-  
 plaint ; the Americans duped the minority by  
 the offer, and the minority wished to dupe the  
 King, by pretending to believe the colonies sin-  
 cere in their professions. Impelled by their ar-  
 dour for place and power, they declared them-  
 selves the friends of the Americans, on the plu-  
 sible



fible pretences of justice and conciliation : thus, as heads of the new plan, they imagined they should slide into power ; but our gracious sovereign was not to be caught ; by what he knew on one side was only pretence, and, on the other, self-interest. Thus have they been striving who should over-reach the other ; and, if government had fell into the snare, it would have gone near to have plunged this kingdom into ruin and disgrace : but still the minority reserved to themselves a power of pursuing the very measures they have condemned with such acrimony, under the wing of the declaratory act, and the act of navigation. Thus they assume the semblance of virtues with so little disguise, that a man, who has the least spark of intelligence, sees through the delusion. All hypocrites lose the end proposed by being hypocrites : hypocrisy is the common habit of sectaries, reformers, and patriots. The Americans, from their religious principles, and from political prejudices, are enemies to the English government ; and their agents and friends here, openly talked of their views of independance, and universal empire, long before they committed real acts of rebellion : they were united to the sectaries here, but



they have admitted into their compact, or rather they have taken for leaders, men, whom they wish to use as tools, but who actually make them such, Lord R—k—h—m, the Duke of G—n, Lord Sh—b—ne, &c. &c. &c. and can those idiots in politics think, that their pretended patrons, who have either immense estates, and are covetous of more, or are needy from extravagance, and want to repair their fortunes, mean to act upon principles which would annihilate their honours and estates? or can these leaders have any cordial regard for a people, whose principles they hold in contempt, and whose language they never assume, but to deceive. This, however, is the present state of patriotism; it is one continued hypocritical farce. The Americans aim at independance; an idea detestable to the patriots here; and yet they acknowledge the patriots as their leaders here, and accommodate their language to theirs in the declarations and petitions. The sectaries here, who are true to their old principles, have the same inclinations, but their ferocity has been tempered by their avarice. Tell it not in Gath, that that great judge of hypocrites, Sir Robert Walpole, should judge 1500 l. per ann. a  
bribe

bribe for the whole body of dissenters. So it is, however, and it has served to keep them in good order. Some few have strayed: 15,00l. more would secure the whole party: it may be with such a view: if that be the case, they are more allied to their patrons than I was aware of. The antients paid divine honours to discord as an infernal goddess! I never understood their reasons, till I viewed the jarring interests of the patriots, their adherents, and the rebels in America. Sacred goddess! let me add one votive prayer to thy divinity! Confound these enemies to our antient constitution; throw over them that mist which gives them imagined security; let them see their mistakes, only when justice is ready to punish them.

It was natural to imagine, that the emigration to America would have cleared England of its internal enemies; and that the true genuine principles of the constitution would have had their effects, without interruption; but the interest and property of the rich reformers became at war with their independant spirit; the sacrifice was too important; the allurements of riches, and all the conveniencies of life, were too

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tempting

tempting to be squandered for the distant possession of an imaginary enjoyment ; the expectation of many being disappointed, enlarged the number ; every opposition has recourse to the old pretence of reforming the state, till they possessed a share of power, and then the state stands in no further need of reformation : corruption is no longer the theme, and they adopt the same measures they so lately condemned. This might be illustrated by the history of every opposition to the regular administration since the Revolution.

There are scarce two members, whose principles are the same ; if they separate, they dwindle into still greater obscurity : for shame ! to be united only as a banditti from motives of policy, and not of conviction, in the great cause you pretend to be engaged in. Illiberal proceedings ! May time throw her veil over your actions, and when she relates the annals of your age, may she cloud that hypocrisy which would damn you to posterity.

Reflect a moment on the real character of the English nation : their hearts are naturally loyal ; their attachment to their King seems to be

coœval with himself. That violent spirit of opposition may date itself from the diffusion of luxury : patriotism is the pretence, and power the end : power and place, in the hands of such principles, become the means of riches ; power and place, under the auspices of men of honour, become the guardians of law and national felicity. If men of birth, in open violation of that allegiance they owe their King, that duty they owe their country, oppose measures that lead to every thing valuable to either, simply in the shameful expectation, that the plunder of the public may patch their dissipated fortunes, that their admission into power may supply them with the means of luxury and splendor, their pretences ought to be dragged to light, and their hypocrisy *unmasked*.



## C H A P. VII.

*The National Debt.*

THIS, perhaps, is the most important subject a political writer can direct his attention to ; and it is by much the most difficult. All our pamphleteers, however, have turned their thoughts to it, and written absolutely without ideas, I have read with eagerness every tract which had any relation to the national debt, in hopes of getting some information about it, but have been always disappointed ; every mechanic in the kingdom knows as much as all our present political arithmeticians. That the debt amounts to above one hundred millions, and that one hundred millions is an enormous sum ; but whether sums of money funded by government, and bearing the name of debt, has any of the usual properties of a debt, and includes the common ideas of obligation to pay, and danger to the debtor ; or whether sums raised by the public on itself, is only an anticipation of its proper and necessary



necessary contributions for its own preservation and support, funded in such a manner, as to be of greater emolument and convenience to the public, than it could have been any other way, can come under the description of a debt from one individual to another, is a question entirely new, at least as far as I know. The peace and prosperity of this country is very much interested in this matter ; and I hope I shall not be considered as deserving ill from my fellow citizens, if I lay before them those thoughts on the subject which an attentive consideration has suggested, and which has given me pleasure, while others have been alarmed, and enabled me to hear the clamours and predictions of disappointed and factious writers, with perfect indifference and contempt.

I will not trace this matter in the little minute manner of an office-clerk : I will not quarrel with any plodding petty genius about a million or two of money ; the Catalines of faction may find it requisite for their intentions to state it much beyond the truth ; my principle derives its advantage on the very same ground on which they stand. The very reasons which they make  
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subservient to their design of alarming their fellow citizens I will use to calm their apprehensions.

If we attend to the progress of commercial societies from toil and industry to ease, to wealth, luxury, and politeness, to the encouragement of the arts, sciences, and the diffusion of universal prosperity and happiness, we shall find, that these ends have been obtained mostly by the means of the deposits, called properly funds, secured by the faith of government, but styled very improperly a national debt, because no greater evil could happen to the public than the payment of it ; for the very instrument of trade, commerce, public ease, prosperity and happiness, would be taken away ; and, what may seem a paradox, we should be reduced to the necessity of making haste to get into debt, in order to recover our trade, our prosperity, and our happiness. I need not lay before my reader any facts which may illustrate this subject, a moment's consideration will convince him, that the common ideas of the funds are all false, and all owing to the denomination given them of debt ; a debt which never must be paid, while

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we have trade, arts, sciences to use them as funds, and pecuniary reservoirs, without which our circulation could never be answerable to our many and infinite occasions. This will be clearer, if we recollect how those funds were formed; they had not one circumstance in common with a debt; a debt is a sum due from one man to another, which he is obliged to pay; the funds are formed by sums advanced by individuals of the community, from the over-flowings of that wealth which they had gained under its protection, with a view to serve it in some difficulty, and to advance its prosperity. Every man will see, that this method of raising money is much preferable to any other in a commercial state. Eighteen or twenty millions a year could not have been advanced by the landed property of England; it was a trifle as it was raised; it was the produce of commerce; it was not wealth till it was accepted by government, and funded for the benefit of those who advanced it.

I make these observations with a view to that general apprehension and terror which is now and then excited in the public, either by the ignorant enthusiasm, or the insidious knavery of  
some

some political writers, Dr. Price, and some others, who are the tools of a disappointed faction, are now and then instigated to ring the alarum on the national debt. These people may possibly imagine, because they can sum up this debt, and calculate the method in which it has been accumulated, by interest, annuities, &c. that they see into the political effects of the funds. Let every cool and impartial man read Price's pamphlet, and produce one single idea out of it, which the meanest clerk in office will not express : all that can be learned from it is, that the national debt amounts to *such a sum*, the interest to *such a sum*, and the circulating cash to *such a sum*. In every article of which he has committed mistakes, which would disgrace a boy whose business was cyphering, but this is not material, except to his reputation. The sale of his pamphlet, and the name he has acquired by it, have been owing to the same causes which have elevated Whitfield, Westley, Romaine, &c. to their reputation. There is a natural tendency in the people to love what alarms them to excess, and there is no subject on which they are sooner affected than their money. Whitfield used to exclaim to his followers,

“ You



“ You are all sinking to hell : its flames are hissing round you, &c.” The people followed him in millions, while they neglected intelligent and rational preachers, who calmly taught them their duty, and pointed out the road to happiness. This methodism is now transfused into politics ; and the man who exclaims the loudest, and with the most plausibility, that the nation is ruined and undone, *is the best political writer*. It is vain in both cases that facts contradict the effusions of enthusiasts : Whitefield’s followers saw and felt every hour, that they were not scorched with flames, and scratched by devils, and yet they flocked in thousands to hear the man say, what the least reflection, if they had been capable of any, would have convinced them was a falsehood. Every thing in England has for many years indicated a growing trade, and a tendency to an increase of every kind of wealth, and every species of knowledge and happiness. The people cannot avoid feeling this ; and yet they have ever turned the most eager attention to any ranting scribbler, who has insidiously told them, that they were in the high road to poverty, dishonour, and destruction. What can be done

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with such people? How are their eyes to be opened, when they seem determined not to see? How can their judgments be appealed to, when they appear never to exercise them? And how can they be persuaded not to be alarmed, when they seem to have the greatest delight in being alarmed? The fears of the people have of late been very artfully and successfully plaid upon, to answer the designs of the disappointed minority. The opposition, formed out of those who had been disappointed in their views of getting into office, and who have been dismissed from lucrative places in the reign of his present majesty, left no expedient untried to distress those who were in power.

The measures which have been lately pursued with regard to America, like all national exertions, were sure to be attended with inconveniences to the trade and interest of this country. The consideration of this, and a natural reluctance to proceed to severities, till every mode of conciliation had been spurned with supercilious haughtiness, were the reasons of that delay, and that mildness in our proceedings, which have been since infamously ascribed to weakness and  
ignorance,

ignorance. The same people have declaimed against a civil war, as the most calamitous of evils, and to be avoided on any honourable terms, which *they* could make with the rebels. They declaimed against the mildness and caution with which it was attempted to be *avoided*, and accused the King and his ministers of ignorance and folly, for not making it more sanguinary and more cruel.

Their attempts to distress government were first made by alarming the public on account of trade : their declamations on this topic had some attention, because the people love to hear they are ruined : but this delusion would be too transitory to answer their purpose ; for our trade perversely increased, and rebellion seemed to bring us prosperity and wealth. These circumstances were so palpable, that the most ignorant of the people could not avoid seeing them : they would therefore have been hopeless, but for their old resource, the national debt ; on which they knew the people had hardly any ideas, and on that account might be more easily alarmed. Rumours were propagated of a public bankruptcy, and people were employed to suggest

the most dismal consequences from the national debt. At last, Lord S—b—e instigated a gloomy and visionary enthusiast, whom he knew to be half frantic himself on the subject, to communicate his apprehensions to the people. Dr. Price, from a long and laborious application to figures, had found out some errors in the interested calculations of several of our societies for annuities and reversionary payments : this gained him some credit.

Lord S—b—e artfully saw, that this man might be made subservient to his views ; that he would be attended to in the city ; he was accordingly put on manufacturing a pamphlet, futile, visionary, and replete with the most unnatural assertions. The pamphlet had a rapid sale ; the people wondered why, or wherefore ; writers answered it, but were not attended to, because they had overlooked the real reason of its sale : the body of the pamphlet consisted of trite, ill-written definitions and observations on religious, moral, and civil liberty, on which a Cicero might have wrote without being read. These were the parts, however, which the writers for administration attacked. The people  
paid



paid no attention to such disquisitions ; they talked of nothing, they thought of nothing, but being ruined by the national debt. Price had set down millions in figures, and the people dreamed of bailiffs seizing poor Britannia by the throat, and carrying her to a spunging-house : this gave great comfort and spirits to the despairing minority, and every *finesse* was made use of to make advantage of this disposition of the common people. This delirium is now over ; but yet it may be revived while the public have false ideas, which enthusiasts and impostors work upon ; and my principal view in troubling the the public, is to dissolve this charm, and to put it out of the power of designing men to injure, and at last destroy them, by persuading them at first, that they are destroyed:

There is no security, no confidence, no ease in a state of ignorance ; those who understand the nature of funds, and the peculiar circulation which they produce, consider them as a blessing, not as an evil ; and they see, that, instead of overwhelming us, they support and render us prosperous : they have created a species of additional property, inferior to nothing but land, and

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to exist as long as our trade and constitution ; they have encreased our circulation by paper, which has almost every advantage of gold, and many beside ; the quibbles of its being of no value is childish, because gold, as a coin, is of none, but as it represents property ; a currency, whether of paper, or of metal, that does not represent property, will have but a limited circulation, and will be discovered in some time to be of no value. We find this in all expedients of sharpers, who issue draughts without property, which deceive only for a short time ; the papers of men of real property and credit will circulate while that property and that credit lasts. It is exactly the same with a nation, who finds its convenience in paper rather than metal ; while that nation has industry, trade, and commerce, enough to produce riches and credit, so long will its coin, or paper, be of use and value.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Necessity and Expediency of suppressing the  
American Rebellion.*

**T**HIS subject has been amply discussed, though not exhausted. While men continue to maintain different and opposite opinions, and while those opinions are the means of discord and dissention, truth has not made its way into the minds of the people. I have already observed, that there has long been in this country, a party, consisting of some men of fortune and abilities, but mostly of persons who possess neither, who have had an interest in obscuring or suppressing the truth. These men have called themselves by the sacred names of patriots, and lovers of their country, and some of them have been credited in their pretensions against every degree of probability. Besides the endeavours of these men, truth has had other and more formidable circumstances to struggle with : the trade and commerce of this country are the great means

means of its prosperity and happiness : these had lately been centering more and more in America : a general disposition prevailed to encourage the evident tendency of things to confine our commerce mostly to our own dominions ; in us it was owing to a generous and commendable partiality : we wished a reciprocation of good offices through the several parts of his Majesty's dominions ; we held the Americans in a nearer relation to us than the rest of mankind ; we saw them gradually putting on an English appearance, and felt a greater alacrity in sharing with them, than with others, the advantages which had resulted from our valour and good fortune. This the Americans saw, with the malignity with which a negro usually beholds the beneficence of a master. Their object was independence, as that of the negro is freedom, however unjust to the interest and property of his master ; goodness to men who have been redeemed from death by servitude or slavery, is poison, and has not the effect of producing gratitude in one instance out of a thousand. This is the reason why all the trouble and expence we have been at with the Americans has been thrown away, and never produced a sentiment



of acknowledgment and gratitude. If the colonies, like the leeward islands, had been peopled by voluntary adventurers, and not by criminals and convicts, our benefits would not have found the soil so ungrateful : the same honour, the same liberality, the same regard to our antient and noble constitution, would have been found in the colonies, as in the genuine sons of England ; whereas the Americans have ever hated those laws, and that constitution, which their forefathers had attempted in vain to destroy ; and against which their lives had been actually forfeited by their repeated treasons. This is the reason that all benefits are thrown away on the Americans ; and what is worse, they not only fail of producing that gratitude, and that attachment to the parent state, which might have been expected, but they have spurned at their benefactors, and aimed at the destruction of that very state, which gave them existence and power. I must not be understood as making this charge general against all those who now inhabit the colonies. — I mean, by Americans, the genuine descendants of those who first planted the northern colonies, those who have lately gone over (excepting some in-

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habitants

habitants of Newgate) have English principles, and English affections ; and, from the first attempt to give regular and permanent laws to America, they have been loyal and friendly to government. Since the rebellion has broken out, they have been obliged to silence, as their lives were endangered by the violence of faction : but on the encreasing successes of our troops, and on a certainty of protection, we shall see them flock in numbers to the English standard.

As every public and private act of the Americans have for many years had in view, a total independance on the English government, and as we have been well assured, that they wished only a connection with us a little longer, on principles of meer convenience to themselves, and even to facilitate their views at our expence, it was either the effect of wisdom in our councils, or it was one of those lucky determinations which are referred to Providence, that we should at this time attempt to reduce them to the state of colonial subjects.

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When they first resisted our authority, the public was justly alarmed at the size and venom of that serpent which we had heedlessly cherished in our bosom. Some under the influence of unmanly terror, or to answer their own views, proposed, that we should in appearance save the honour of the nation, by announcing the declaratory law; but in fact to give it up, by complying with the requisition of the Americans of an independent legislation. Dean Tucker proposed, that we should quit the Americans as unworthy of any connection with us, and then enter into a commercial alliance with them. I hope Dean Tucker knows more of the dispositions of men, than to imagine men are to be brought to reason by contempt; they may by fear. The King has wisely chosen the only method by which it is possible to recover America. We were not aware here of the principles and views of that people, and we did not foresee that America meant to rise a great empire out of the ashes of its parent.

War is an evil to be avoided by all possible means, and nothing can have exceeded the reluctance with which the sword has been now

drawn. The very existence of this empire was at stake. A great republic was forming on its very basis ; and nothing less than its total destruction must have been the consequence of its growth and maturity. Some men will say, no harm would have ensued, if greater liberty had been enjoyed. Let these men betake themselves to Venice, and contemplate the gloomy severity of that republic : let them read in the countenances of all the people, the constant expressions of terror and dismay : let them pass over to Switzerland and Geneva, from whence our modern republicans take their idea, where he will see barrenness, ferocity, poverty, and all the evils that attend a state of equality, where every noble quality lays dormant with reaping of those imagined advantages so much boasted of : let him come over to Holland, where trade and commerce must soften the severity of their manners, but where the inconveniencies and evils of republicanism are felt, and obvious to every observer ; where every thing moves like clock-work, and almost all personal and public liberty is lost : let him then view the constitution of England, established on principles that leave the people free, while it effectually provides for  
their



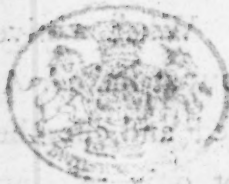
their security and happiness ; they are guarded from arbitrary power by a proper share of influence in the government ; they are preserved from the licentiousness of anarchy, or the severity and gloom of republicanism, by a regulated and judicious monarchy. Industry and genius may exert themselves ; wealth may diffuse its blessings to the lowest classes ; riches, rank and honours, are held out as rewards to merit, to stimulate that emulation, which is the source of every thing great and honourable in society. Happy under such a constitution, would it not be folly, treason, and impiety, to sacrifice those inimitable advantages to the dreams of enthusiasts, or the projects of American rebels ? Independent republics could not have been formed in America, by our colonies, and by emigrants from this country, without destroying this constitution. Self-preservation, therefore, would require the suppression of the American rebellion ; self-preservation is the first law of nature ; states, as well as individuals, are influenced by this principle, and exist by it. If the constitution of England had not the excellence it has when compared to others ; if it were inferior to the projected republic of the Americans, the defenders of it would have a right to persevere in it at the hazard

hazard of their projects, and to sacrifice their schemes to a state already existing, and producing happiness much to the satisfaction of those who are the members of it. If the Americans were thus projecting a republic, which in its progress would not only interfere with, but destroy the English monarchy, it must create a necessity to prevent the evil, even by destroying the Americans, and their projects. This was the fact, and this was the real, though not apparent ground of the proceedings against the colonies. Evils are never perceived by common understandings in their first state; but when grown to a certain degree, they strike every eye. In the first struggle of the Americans, their pretensions hardly appeared, and people were much disposed to be duped by their hypocrisy; but now they have a congress, an assumed supreme power, declared independent of the King, with a form of government totally different from that of England, and inconsistent with its existence; the mask thrown off, and avowing a hatred to this country, its customs, and its laws: it requires no deep share of divination to discover its enormity, and that enormity ought to rouse every true-born Englishman. Disputes about insignificant

ficant forms, and trifling taxes, are now idle ;  
 and when the fiend has uncased his countenance,  
 we see he must be corrected. Is there an Eng-  
 lishman so lost to all those glorious principles  
 which have animated our ancestors, which in-  
 duced them to form and establish our constitution  
 at the expence of their blood, as to see that con-  
 stitution derided, its very foundation aimed at,  
 by wretches who owe their existence to lenity,  
 and moderation ? Can they read the history of  
 their country under a Duke of Marlborough, and  
 in all the glorious events of the last war, and not  
 ask themselves what were the motives of our  
 arms from the black prince, Harry the Fifth, the  
 the gallant Howes, to the present cause, but to  
 revenge insults, to sustain the dignity, and to  
 promote the happiness of British subjects, even  
 to protect the Americans ? These motives have  
 engaged the people ; as one man, they have  
 breathed one spirit. What motives were these  
 to what we have now at stake ? A large part of  
 our empire, protected and cherished at an im-  
 mense expence, not only refusing to bear an  
 equitable share of our burdens, but actually  
 aiming to annihilate us ; in arms ; insulting and  
 defying us. Is there a man, with a drop of  
 British

British blood in him, that can imagine, hear, and see it, without being roused out of that supineness, which luxury and peace may have occasioned? If the principles of true love of our country, and of a regard to its honour, interest, and safety, ever had an effect on our minds, they surely ought now, when an amiable but injured and insulted monarch is endeavouring, by courageous and good measures, to restore the general harmony and duty of the empire.—An indulgent prince,

Who, to his latest breath  
Will find his ruling passion strong in death.  
Such in those moments, as in all the past,  
Oh, save my country, Heav'n! will be his last.



F I N I S.